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Contents

The Week	368
Leading Editorials	
Mr. Wilson Forgets	370
The Myth of Capitalistic Rationality	372
In the Senate	375
President Masaryk on Russian Intervention	376
The Trial of the Kaiser	377
General Articles	
Legislation Against Anarchy..... Zechariah Chafee, Jr.	379
Anti-Bolsheviks: Mr. Sack..... William Hard	385
Portrait of a Lady..... C. D., Jr.	387
In the King's Robing Room..... Walter Weyl	389
A Communication.....	393
Correspondence.....	394
After the Play..... K. M.	397
Reviews of Books	
The Conversation of Mr. Yeats..... Rebecca West	398
British Labor and the War..... H. J. L.	399
Education by Violence..... C. M.	400
Through Yellow Glasses..... M. C.	401
His Own People.....	402

The Week

A NEW war is threatening, war against Hungary, with a certain request for the use of American troops. Against Hungary the Allies in Paris have three complaints: (1) the government refuses to grant an acceptable armistice to its neighbors; (2) the government is socialistic; (3) the government refuses to let Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia cut pieces from its country's flanks to fit their several ambitions. The validity of the first point has not been established. Correspondence between the Allies and Hungary is still kept secret. The second and third points may alarm the foreign offices of Europe; they cannot justify the use of American troops. Do we stand by while the others make war? Where is our League of Nations? Apparently the American representative on the Council of Five agreed in directing the Allied generals to ascertain the number of troops that can be thrown against Budapest.

REVOLTING as any story the war has produced is a report on Japanese atrocities made public by the Presbyterian Church in America. It is based upon investigations made by the Church after the imprisonment of some of its missionaries by Japanese authorities. Men beaten to death and seared with hot irons for suspected complicity in the revolutionary movement; women made to go naked

into the witness box, and kept in prison with hands manacled; villages burned "because they were Christian villages;" congregations butchered in their churches—these are instances "known beyond the shadow of a doubt to be true." The report will probably be denied by Japanese authorities in this country. Reports like this one cannot stand unchallenged. But let us remember that in this case our informants are disinterested Americans who have gone into the Far East in the spirit of service.

"HASTEN to Trade with Germany"—"Cotton for Hamburg"—so read the headlines on the morning after the blockade was lifted. And the leagues that had locked hands Never to Trade with the Hun? From them not a word of protest. Not a murmur, despite the months of agitation, the brave defials, the lists of a million signatures. Why were they silent? A new commercial interest—or a new conviction that it is to the world's interest to have Germany healthy and at work? Let us believe the latter. Amid an eloquent silence died the first child of war hysteria. There will be more deaths. Sooner or later to the land of dead myths will go the fear of Bolshevism in America, the belief in Kolchak as redeemer of democracy and the agitation against freedom of speech.

AN international commission of inquiry has been sent to Fiume to investigate the recent disputes between French and Italian soldiers that ended in riots. The quarrels seem chiefly to have been over flags and privileges and sweethearts. But they dramatize what is a real antagonism in foreign policies. Italy wants an empire; France wants Jugoslavia strong enough to be played against Italy (and weak enough to rely on France). An international committee may quiet the soldiers. But it cannot subdue the foreign offices. It is possible that Italian aims on the east coast of the Adriatic may be bought off by offering Italy concessions in Asia Minor and Africa. Such a bargain is hinted at by correspondents in Paris. But that is no real solution of problems in the Adriatic. Nor is it self-determination for the peoples who would serve as pawns in the trade.

THOUGH claims to territory are causing her concern Italy's real problem at the present time is domestic. The government is working frantically to quiet discontent. A new decree puts a severe penalty on profiteers and un-

licensed middlemen. Various local authorities are publishing additional decrees of their own. In Milan foodstuffs and clothing must be sold at fifty per cent of the prices recently current. Despite all efforts it is not yet certain that the food riots and strikes are at an end. The government's action is three years late. With a rebellious populace and a treasury deficit of a billion dollars there is no smooth road ahead for the Nitti cabinet.

FRANCE, as well as Italy, has a problem in the high scale of prices. Six months ago a state food monopoly was proposed by Deputy Albert Thomas as the one means of reducing the cost of living. Brokers and speculators killed his plan. But speculation is today a chief cause of unrest in the French cities. Combined with it are certain political factors. The government persists in keeping a state of siege alive, and a censorship clapped on. In the last test of this issue the Cabinet received a majority of only 54 votes in the Chamber of Deputies, the smallest margin on which any French government has continued in power since the beginning of the war. What makes the political situation still more acute is the fact that in France the labor demonstration against Russian intervention threatens to be far-reaching. The railway unions have voted to tie up traffic completely for twenty-four hours, on July 21st, and the government threatens court-martial.

WHILE the protest of British labor is likely to take the form of parades and demonstrations, rather than of strikes, the industrial situation in England nevertheless remains an acute one. Coincident with reports from the Food Control that food prices will remain high comes an announcement from Sir Auckland Geddes that the price of coal is to be raised six shillings a ton. The British War Office seems panic-stricken. It recently issued secret orders to troop commanders in England, asking if their men would act as strike-breakers. And a copy of the London Herald just arrived from England prints this paragraph from what purports to be secret Air Ministry Orders 1380-1433: "It is undesirable that firing should take place over the heads of the rioters or that blank cartridges should be used." Publication of orders such as these has probably not had a quieting effect on unrest in British industrial centers.

THE British government has proposed an inquiry into the possibilities of federalism for the whole United Kingdom. Its chief motive is apparently to find a solution for the problem in Ireland. While the government has dallied conditions have become more acute. The Secretary for Ireland has proclaimed Sinn Fein an unlawful association. And from the home of Ulsterism, Sir Edward Carson denounces the moderate proposals of Horace Plunkett and issues a warning to America: "I say seriously to America today—you attend to your own affairs and we will attend to ours. . . . We will brook no interference in our own affairs by any country, however powerful."

THE State Department, in reply to a resolution submitted by Mr. Borah, declared that it had no knowledge of a joint protest made by Secretary Lansing, Henry White and General Bliss against Japan's seizure of Shantung. But

from Paris comes confirmation of the fact that the three commissioners did indeed send a joint memorandum to the President. "It was in no sense a protest, however," says the correspondent of the New York Times. The commissioners simply "expressed the opinion that the transfer of Shantung to Japan was contrary to the principles on which the treaty was based." That looks to us very much like a protest, whether you call it one or not. It takes its place beside Mr. Wilson's protest against Italian annexation of Fiume—two honorable American protests far outdistanced by the courage of General Smuts.

IT is possible that in the Senate the Republicans will insist upon making a reservation in respect to Shantung. Mr. McCormick, Mr. Capper, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Johnson and other Republicans have denounced the decision of the Peace Conference. Few Senators are ready to defend the transaction, though most of the Democrats seem to think it their duty to remain silent. With a reservation on Shantung nearly all Americans would be in sympathy. There are other vicious sections in the treaty. There is the Saar and Silesia and the method of assessing Germany's reparation. But these questions are "risky." And the Republican party has long since given up taking risks. Nevertheless a reservation on Shantung would in itself be an indictment of the unforgivable blunders in the treaty.

TESTIFYING before an investigating committee in New York City Mr. J. A. Embry, who used to be an American consul at Omsk, declared that for the unhappy people of Siberia the name of Admiral Kolchak "was like the name of our Savior"—and asserted that it was important to make this statement because "formerly reputable magazines" like *The New Republic* were denouncing the Kolchak government. We should like to ask Mr. Embry why in his testimony before the committee he failed to mention such activities of the Kolchak government as the murders of W. Maisky and N. V. Fomin. Both of these men were prominent Russians. Neither of them was even a Bolshevik. Maisky was at one time a Menshevik Minister of the Samara Government; Fomin was a delegate to the Constituent Assembly dissolved by the Bolsheviks. These murders happened at one time. They happened in Omsk, where Mr. Embry was consul. They were purely political murders, of political leaders, by Kolchak's people. Does Mr. Embry claim that they did not happen? Or can he tell us perhaps the story of how Kolchak executed the murderers? Two weeks ago *The New Republic* published a description of the Kolchak government, written by Dr. Joshua Rosset. We ask Mr. Embry to deny specifically the truth of any part of that description.

ACTION of great significance has been taken by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers. In convention the Firemen and Engineers have voted to cooperate with the three other Brotherhoods in the foundation of a national labor party. It is not clear, from reports that have been sent from the Colorado convention, whether these other Brotherhoods have already agreed in the plan for cooperation, and whether an alliance is contemplated with existing labor parties and farmers' leagues. But the

entrance of the Brotherhoods into politics, as an organized body, has been forecasted ever since the publication of their programme for railway operation. That programme is essentially a political issue. At some not far distant date it is likely that the American Federation of Labor, also aiming at political changes, will follow the lead of the Firemen and Engineers.

JULY 28th has been set as the date for trial in the action of the Attorney-General of New York to annul the charter of the Rand School of Social Science. The case rests on a charge that the School is engaged in "a carefully planned and deliberate attempt to teach a large portion of the people of this state and other states to hold the government of the United States and its institutions in utter contempt and contumely." In our own opinion it is not likely that the Attorney-General will be able to prove the Rand School an advocate of violence and revolution. If he is able only to show that it is the peaceful advocate of political and economic changes, then—no matter whether those changes lead in the direction of the dread word Socialism—his efforts will react upon the heads of those who have forgotten that freedom of thought and speech are the richest items in America's heritage.

ON a subject now receiving sensational treatment by journalists, senators and generals, Bishop Williams, of the Protestant Church in Michigan, makes this comment: "If Bolshevism ever sweeps over America it will be due, not to the I. W. W. and the ignorant proletariat who fly the red flag, but to the blind conservatives who resist the world tide of the new democracy. By wise, well considered industrial reform and social legislation we should guide these swelling aspirations out of the channels of revolution into the channels of constructive evolution. The two systems which are now coming into conflict in our financial and commercial world are the autocracy of privilege and power on the one side and the democracy of service on the other."

THERE are several significant facts in the victory of the Nonpartisan League in North Dakota. One is the way the voters turned out for the referendum on seven League measures (creating a state bank, establishing state grain elevators and flour mills, etc.). More than ninety thousand votes were cast. That is nine-tenths of the total vote cast in the last presidential election—and ordinarily, in any state, a referendum brings out less than half of the voters. In the second place the League's victory indicates that stories of the crumbling power of the League's leaders are not justified. The programme of A. C. Townley was approved by a majority of the voters of North Dakota in the same week that a Minnesota court found Townley guilty of "obstructing the draft law." Finally the result of the election shows that in America the most fundamental sort of economic changes are possible by the use of entirely legal machinery. The League's victory is proof that "propaganda" is a far more effective instrument than "violence."

IN a letter to Congress Mr. Carter Glass declares his confidence that the Treasury will be able to meet its further temporary requirements by the sale of certificates of in-

debtedness upon terms advantageous to the government. But he adds: "I need scarcely say to you that the realization of these sanguine expectations is contingent upon the practice of the most rigid economy by the government and the continuation of ample revenues from taxation." From many quarters there comes a lively propaganda for lower taxes. It will be all too easy for Congress to forget that the end of the war is not in fact the end of the war debt.

INSURGENCY is reported in the Ways and Means Committee of the House. Mr. Fordney, long known as an advocate of tariff for politics only, is pressing for a revision of the entire existing system of duties. Many Republicans disapprove of such a course. They think general revision, immediately, would be unwise. They prefer to begin with measures to protect those industries which owe their foundation to the war. And they believe that if Mr. Fordney does not accept the advice of old friends there will be a combination of insurgents and conservatives that will assume authority in the committee. In the Republican Congress we are finding that each positive issue splits the party.

REPRESENTATIVES of twenty-four American trade unions affiliated in the steel industry have met in Washington and adopted a resolution recommending a strike ballot among their members—more than a million, all told. Definite action on this recommendation will be taken at a conference of the union presidents in Pittsburg, later in the month. If the strike is called it will be exclusively on the issue of enforcing collective bargaining in the great steel plants that have so long resisted unionization.

FEW tendencies are more interesting than the movement of the churches toward advocacy of liberal social reform. The most recent instance is furnished in a new report of the Board of Bishops of the Methodist Church: "While we rejoice in the adoption of all such ameliorative measures as better housing and various forms of social insurance, we call for the more thorough-going emphasis on human freedom which will make democratic progress mean the enlargement and enrichment of the life of the masses through the self-directive activity of men themselves." To this end the Board recommends the advancement of workers to positions on boards directing the management of industry.

Mr. Wilson Forgets

THE most remarkable thing about the President's speech to Congress is this: he came to advocate a treaty with Germany; he devoted most of his time to praising the unfinished treaty with Austria and Turkey. It is no wonder that the speech heartened his opponents and depressed his supporters. For the speech virtually ignored the document with which the Senate has to deal.

The treaty, says Mr. Wilson, "constitutes nothing less than a world settlement." By his leave it constitutes a very great deal less. All the treaty does is to organize a league of victors and invited

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